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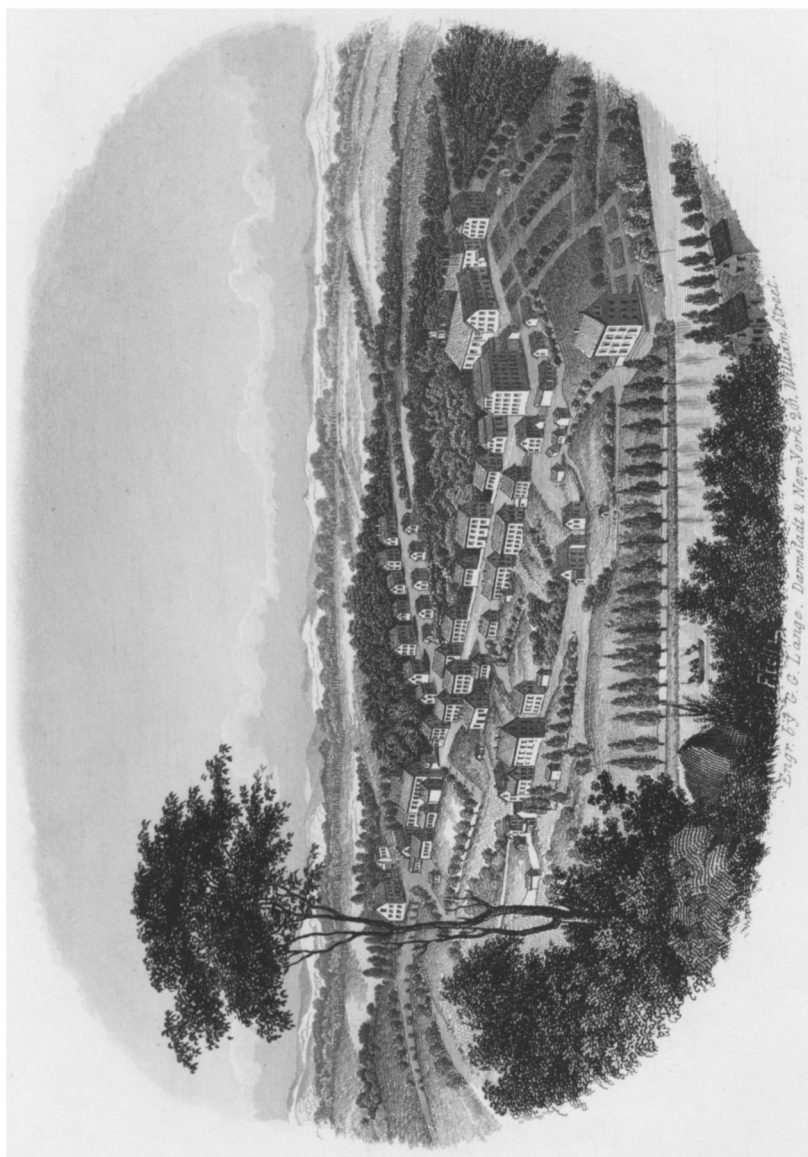
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SOUTH WEST VIEW OF BETHLEHEM. A.D. 1784.

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BETHLEHEM DURING THE REVOLUTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES IN THE MORAVIAN ARCHIVES AT
BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[The following extracts from the diaries of the Moravian congregation at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1775-1782, have been selected for the valuable data they contain relating to the struggle for American Independence. The Rev. John Ettwein, whose name frequently appears, was a distinguished clergyman and the accredited agent of his church in the negotiations with Congress, and with the Assembly, through the troubles arising from the test acts. What the position of that church was during the war, may best be ascertained from their petition to Congress, from which we quote:

“Encouraged by that Act [Act of Parliament, 1749, exempting the Moravians from military service and the taking of oaths in the Colonies], and the glorious liberty in Pennsylvania, most of the Moravians on the Continent came from Germany in full trust and confidence that they and their children would enjoy here liberty of conscience without restraint, and which they enjoyed with thankfulness until the breaking out of the present troubles; since which they have been continually troubled for not associating in the use of arms or acting against their principles in regard to war; some have been made prisoners, and all able bodied of a certain age have been heavily fined, many so that if they had not been

assisted by Charity they would lie in prison. By the operation of the Test Acts some have already suffered imprisonment, and by an Act of Assembly of the 1st of April last, we find ourselves subject to be outlawed and exiled without any enquiry into our behaviour, for which we hold ourselves always accountable to the Magistrates. We hold no principles any way dangerous or inconsistent with good government. We have been tried and sifted enough on that head by the British Parliament, the kings of Prussia and Denmark, the Empress of Russia and others before they granted us the beforementioned and other privileges in their dominions. . . . We willingly help and assist to bear public burdens and never had any distress made for taxes; and we are willing to give all reasonable assurance that we will in no wise act against this or the other United States. We humbly conceive that at altering the government we were entitled to the benefit of these privileges which induced us to come into this land, and we have by no word or acts against the new Government forfeited them. . . . If the laws of Pennsylvania, in regard to the Test, are to be executed upon us, we and our families must be ruined and our creditors wronged, for we cannot take that prescribed oath, it is against our conscience. . . . We have an awful impression of all oaths or affirmations, and cannot say Yes! and think No! or No! and think Yes! We want not to deceive anybody, but will by the help of God act honestly before God and man, not fearing the consequences.”]

1775.

April 27.—First heard through the newspapers of bloodshed at Lexington, on the 19th inst.

June 1.—Bro. [John] Bonn,¹ [John Francis] Oberlin,² and George Klein³ went to Jacob Arndt,⁴ to inform him of our views about military training and fighting; that although

¹ John Herman Bonn, during the first occupation of the Brethren's house in Bethlehem by the Continental Hospital, was acting steward.

² John Francis Oberlin was for nearly twenty years in charge of the church store, which was located on the north side of Market Street, opposite to the graveyard. He was a vehement Tory, and the remark which he once made, “that he had sufficient rope in his store to hang all Congress,” rendered his situation so unpleasant, if not precarious, that he was compelled to resign it.

³ George Klein, from Baden, settled in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, prior to 1740, and took up successive tracts of land until he became the owner of over six hundred acres, which, subsequent to his removal to Bethlehem, in 1755, he conveyed in part to the Moravian Church. On this tract the town of Litiz was laid out.

⁴ See PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 99.

we are desirous of the good of the land in which we live, and that we would not *oppose* the current of events, still we cling to the liberty, which as a people of God we enjoyed in all countries, to be freed from actual military service; and that we were willing to bear our share of the burdens of the country.

July 8.—A company of provincials from York passed through on their way to Boston.¹

July 20.—We kept fast day as ordered by Congress.

July 21.—Three companies of riflemen passed through.

July 24.—This morning a company of riflemen marched through, and in the evening a company of Virginians under Capt. [Daniel] Morgan arrived and encamped for the night. Bro. Ettwein by request preached to them in English.

July 26.—Capt. [Thomas] Price with his company from Maryland arrived.²

July 28.—Another company of Virginians marched through early this morning on their way to Boston.

August 10.—A company of provincials from Bedford County passed through.

December 5.—Some English officers and soldiers taken prisoners by General Montgomery at St. John's arrived, and are quartered here.

December 6.—About 200 royal prisoners of war arrived. All those here will leave to-morrow.

1776.

January 30.—Four sleigh loads of the wives and children of the royal prisoners from Canada arrived. We assisted the poor women and children!

January 31.—Toward evening there arrived some 20 wagons filled with soldiers and their baggage, belonging to

¹ They left York for the camp at Cambridge on July 1, 1775, under command of Captain Michael Doudle.

² The second company of "expert riflemen," recruited in Frederick County, whose officers were Captain Thomas Price, Lieutenants Otho Holland Williams and John Ross Key.

the Canadian prisoners. We found much trouble to provide for and lodge them.¹

February 1.—Justice John Okely² having secured the teams needed, the prisoners continued on their way.

February 3.—Fifty men, belonging to the same party of prisoners passed through.

February 14.—To-day there arrived a party, mostly French, members of the Canadian militia, who had been taken prisoners.

February 15.—They left for Bristol, where they will be quartered.

April 4.—After dinner a company of riflemen from Lancaster passed through on their way to New York.

May 1.—Pursuant to an Act of Assembly, there was an election held for two additional Assemblymen for this county.

May 6.—Governor John Penn arrived from Allentown, and, owing to the rain, remained over night at the Sun Tavern.³

May 7.—Thomas Bartow,⁴ wife and five children, arrived from Philadelphia. They will make Bethlehem their home during these troublous times.

May 10.—We heard to-day that in Philadelphia there was a great panic, at the approach of several British men-of-war.⁵

¹ The population of Bethlehem on January 1, 1776, was 564, divided as follows: 140 married couples; 11 widowers; 32 widows; 115 single men and youths; 179 single women and maidens; 81 young children, and 6 clergymen.

² John Okely, from Bedford, England, for a number of years was the scrivener and conveyancer of the church, residing in Bethlehem. In 1774 he was commissioned a justice of the peace by Governor John Penn, and, during the Revolution, was an assistant commissary in the Continental service. Withdrew from the Moravians.

³ The first house of public entertainment erected in Bethlehem. The building was commenced in 1754, but, owing to the Indian war, was not completed until 1758.

⁴ Thomas Bartow, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, was born at Perth Amboy, N.J., 27th January, 1737. On June 23, 1768, he married Sarah, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth (North) Benezet. His family remained in Bethlehem above three years. He died January 26, 1793.

⁵ See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 69.

May 17.—We kept Fast and Prayer Day as appointed by Congress.

May 30.—The County Committee met in Easton and declared for Independence.

June 13.—Intelligence came from Philadelphia that New York was expected to be attacked daily, and that the troops from the former city were moving thither.

June 26.—Mr. [Carter] Braxton, a delegate to Congress from Virginia, with wife and daughter, came to see Bethlehem, as also Mr. Hunt from Trenton.¹

July 4.—From the papers we learned that to-day Congress was resolved to declare the colonies free and independent.

July 8.—We learned to-day that in Philadelphia Independence is to be proclaimed, and in all the counties election for members of the convention was held. In Northampton County there were elected five Germans and three Irish farmers as delegates.

July 10-11.—Twenty army wagons from Canada passed through. From Philadelphia we learned that on Monday Independence was proclaimed from the State House, and that no one but violent partisans of the American cause had been elected to the Provincial Convention.

July 15.—Our team from Hope in the Jerseys arrived, after an uncalled for detention. Passing through Easton, heavily laden with flour, it was suspected of secretly carrying munitions of war, and accordingly the Associators dispatched some of their number in pursuit. The wagon was overtaken a short distance from town, and summarily searched.

July 19.—Yesterday an order was received from the Provincial Brigadier General, that the militia of the county should march to New Brunswick.

July 23.—Col. Kichline came from Easton to collect the remaining fire-arms here. On representing that a place like ours should not be entirely without fire-arms, he without hesitation left a few pieces.

July 29.—Col. George Taylor, now a member of Congress, came by order of the Convention to collect fire-arms.

¹ Abraham Hunt, merchant and postmaster of Trenton, New Jersey.

July 30.—One hundred and twenty recruits from Allentown and vicinity, passed through on their way to the Flying Camp in the Jerseys, to which our County has been called on to contribute 346 men. Every volunteer is entitled to a bounty of £3.

August 4.—At 9 A.M. arrived Capt. Old's company from Reading. The captain asked us to preach to his men, and came with them to the Chapel, where Bro. Ettwein discoursed both in English and German.

August 11.—Capt. Syms, a British prisoner of war, came by permission of Congress to reside here or within a radius of six miles.

August 16.—Four companies of militia from Tulpehocken, with flying colors, drums and fifes, arrived *en route* for the Flying Camp at New Brunswick, and lodged over night at the Sun Tavern.

August 17.—In the afternoon there arrived five companies of Provincials from Lebanon, who were quartered at the Sun Tavern.

August 18.—At the request of their officers, Bro. Ettwein preached to the troops in the Chapel at 10 o'clock A.M.

August 19.—The Lebanon troops left. Yesterday and to-day we heard heavy cannonading, which we learned was at King's Bridge.

August 23.—There lodged here a company from Reading, under Capt. Will, *en route* for the Jerseys. They attended evening service.

August 24.—M^r [Thomas] Lynch, a Congressman from South Carolina, with wife and daughter visited here.

August 26.—Two companies arrived; one from Oley, under Capt. Daniel de Turk, attended evening service.

August 28.—A company from Reading, under Capt. [George] May¹ arrived.

September 1.—At noon to-day arrived the Fourth Battalion of Berks County militia, Col. Gehr commanding.² At 4

¹ George May, grand-uncle of the late George May Keim, of Reading, was captain in the Fourth Battalion of Berks County militia.

² Member from Berks County of the Provincial Committee, January 23, 1775; of the Council of Censors, convened at Philadelphia 10th November, 1783; and of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, 1789-90.

o'clock Bro. Ettwein preached to them in the Chapel, taking for his text Mark x. 17.

September 4.—Several deserters from the army passed through, and stated that in the battle of Long Island, one of the battalions from this county was badly cut up.

September 18.—To-day we received news that the English were in possession of New York City, and that the Provincials had been driven from Ticonderoga. The Lebanon Battalion, Col. Greenwald in command, returned from the Jerseys.

September 22.—A train of wagons passed through early this morning, *en route* for Albany.

October 1.—To-day there was no election for assemblymen.

October 12.—Mr. [Joseph] Galloway, George Taylor, and others, visited here.

November 20.—The fire-arms, which up to this time had been stored at John Okely's, were, on order of Col. [Geo.] Taylor taken to Easton. We learned that Fort Washington had been taken.

November 24.—The news of the capture of Fort Constitution was received.

November 27.—Capt. Syms, who has been here three months, set out for New Brunswick, where he is to be exchanged. We heard that all the royal prisoners at Reading and Lancaster are to march through our town.

November 28.—Another party of officers arrived.

November 30.—From Philadelphia we learned that all were panic-stricken there; that the militia have been ordered to the field,—a part to join Washington's army, as the British are threatening the city.¹

December 3.—We are notified that the army hospital is to be removed to this place.²

¹ See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 105.

² The commodious buildings common to the larger Moravian settlements, and the situation of the latter, which, while somewhat interior, was not too remote from the line of military operations, were points of importance which the American officers were not slow in appreciating. In addition, the commissary department knew that its wants would be well supplied by an agricultural community who were in possession of large and fertile farms.

EASTON, Decem'r 8^d 1776.

GENTN.

You will see by the Letter herewith sent that the General Hospital of the Army is ordered to be at Bethlehem. We therefore request of you that you would be aiding & assisting to Doctr. [Cornelius] Baldwin¹ who waits upon you with this, and who is come for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the sick, to furnish him with such proper accommodations as Bethlehem can afford.

By order of Committee,

ABRAHAM BERLIN,

Chairman.

To the REV. NATH SEIDEL

Bethlehem.

To the Committee of the Town of Bethlehem, or others whom it may Concern :

GENTLEMEN :

According to his Excellency General Washington's Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethlehem, and you will do the greatest act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for their reception, the largest and most Capacious will be the most convenient. I doubt not, Gentlemen, but you will act upon this occasion as becomes Men and Christians; Doct'r Baldwin, the Gentleman who waits upon you with this, is sent upon the Business of Providing proper Accommodations for the sick; begging therefore, that you will afford him all possible Assistance, I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN WARREN²*Gen'l. Hospit'l. Surg'n and P. T. Direct.*

Hanover Gen'l. Hospit'l.

December 1, 1776.

In the evening arrived Drs. Warren and [William] Ship-

¹ See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 117.² The distinguished surgeon, and brother of General Joseph Warren, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

pen,¹ and we assured them that we would do all we could for them.

December 4.—Several buildings were cleared for hospital purposes. Dr. Shippen and Surgeon John Warren were so pleased with our willingness that they made arrangements to have the greater part of the sick quartered in Easton and Allentown. They informed us, that the hospital at Morristown, from whence they came, contained one thousand patients; of these five hundred will be quartered in the Forks,—about one hundred and fifty in Bethlehem.

Many officers and soldiers from Ticonderoga passed through. In Philadelphia confusion reigns; all places of business are closed, persons capable of bearing arms are compelled to take the field, blankets, shoes, &c., are given to the soldiers, on penalty of being confiscated.²

December 5.—A day of unrest at Bethlehem! The soldiers from Ticonderoga impressed wagons and left for Philadelphia. Many wagons with sick from the Jerseys reached here to-day. Col. [Isaac] Reed,³ from Virginia, arrived lame and sick. He had sent his surgeon on ahead to engage private lodgings.

December 6.—Capt. Forest, a gentleman from Boston, who tarried here a few days as a prisoner, set out for New Brunswick.

The sick were brought here to-day in crowds. Their sufferings and lack of proper care made them a pitiable spectacle to behold, and had we not supplied them with food, many would have perished,—for their supplies did not arrive for three days.

December 7.—Two of the sick died to-day. A burying place for the dead of the Hospital was selected across the Monocacy creek.⁴

¹ See PENNA. MAG., Vol. I. p. 109.

² See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 106.

³ Colonel of the Fourth Virginia Regiment.

⁴ This was located on the hill, west of what is now called Monocacy Avenue, in West Bethlehem. In digging the cellars of new buildings in that section of the borough, portions of coffins and human bones have been unearthed.

December 8.—Two dwellings were hurriedly cleared, to make more room for the sick coming from Trenton. A detachment of these arrived after dinner, and remained on the other side of the river, where two died.

December 9.—Frederick Beitel,¹ who had taken several officers (prisoners of war) to the army, returned from New Brunswick with the news that on the 7th inst., the British army had broken camp and set out for Philadelphia.

December 10.—Bro. Ettwein for the first time visited the sick in their wards.

December 12.—Dr. Shippen's, Joseph Dean's,² and many other families are coming here, fleeing from the impending storm.

December 13.—Bethlehem was never so full of strangers as now, endeavoring to find a place of safety. Among the number are: [Philip] Livingston, delegate to Congress, Dr. Reed, and others from New York; [William] Floyd, [Elias] Boudinot, Drs. [William] Burnet³ and Jacob Ogden from Newark in the Jerseys. The latter paid £18 hire for a farmer's wagon from Philadelphia.

December 15.—Dr. [Isaac] Foster,⁴ a New Englander, asked us for lodgings for his wife, as he must repair to the army. We gave her a room. Mr. [William] Livingston, the new Governor of New Jersey, and Gen'l. [Horatio] Gates, arrived this evening. An order came from Easton to impress our flat-boat,⁵ and take it to that place, to assist in transporting Gen. [Charles] Lee's division of one thousand men across the Delaware. We learned that Lee had been taken prisoner twenty miles from Hope.

¹ He was "wagon-master" for the congregation, and his name will frequently appear in the diary in that capacity.

² Joseph Dean, a merchant of Philadelphia, and a member of the Committee of Safety and Board of War.

³ See PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 308.

⁴ Elected by Congress, in April of 1777, Deputy Director-General of the Hospitals for the Eastern District.

⁵ The ferry across the Lehigh, located but a short distance above the present railroad bridge, was opened in 1743. The first bridge was built in 1794.

December 16.—This afternoon Gen. Lord Stirling arrived with dispatches from Gen. Washington for Gen. Gates.

December 17.—Gen. Gates with his officers visited our larger buildings. About noon we heard that several thousand New Englanders, under Gen. Sullivan,¹ would reach here to-day, and that we should bake bread for them. As the hospital is here, and as all possible room is engaged by the soldiers who came from Albany, Gen. Gates sent his Adjutant, Col. [Walter] Stewart to meet the New Englanders, and order them to cross between here and Easton, and encamp in Saucon. Nevertheless, towards evening, some three or four thousand men arrived and went into camp. As the night was cold, our fences on both sides of the river suffered. Gen. Gates set a guard (from his body-guard) at each door of the Sisters' House, until the soldiers withdrew. The New England officers politely asked for quarters and most of the houses took some in. In the Congregation House, ten or twelve of the higher officers were lodged; and in the town between five and six hundred men. In the Sun Tavern were Gens. Gates, Sullivan, Stirling, Arnold, Glover, and many other officers of rank. At dusk Gen. Sullivan accompanied by thirty officers came to attend our meeting, which, owing to the confusion in town, was dropped. They were taken into the Chapel to hear the organ, and were pleased with the music. We were told that Bethlehem has been represented to the army as a nest of Tories, and that Gen. Lee had said, "that in a few hours he would make an end of Bethlehem."

December 18.—Gen. Sullivan's troops moved off, and later more troops arrived *via* Nazareth.

December 19.—Gen. Gates and his troops left to-day. He invited us to make a settlement on the Ohio river, in Virginia.

December 20.—More troops arrived this evening from Albany *via* Nazareth, and were lodged over night. James Allen² was taken from his house at Allentown and carried

¹ See PENNA. MAG., Vol. II. p. 196.

² A son of Chief-Justice William Allen. See PENNA. MAG., Vol. I. p. 211.

to Philadelphia, charged with having sought to dissuade the militia from taking the field.

December 22.—Five deaths were reported in the Hospital to-day. Bro. Ettwein, who visits the sick once or twice a week, had very attentive listeners to-day (Sunday) in the five wards.

December 24.—At the Vigils of Christmas Eve were present all the Doctors and Surgeons of the Hospital.

December 25.—This evening Dr. Shippen with a majority of the surgeons left for the Army, having been summoned by a courier.¹

December 31.—As many strangers desired to be present at our Night Watch Meeting, we closed the year at 11.30 P.M., Bishop Seidel officiating.

1777.

January 1.—Bro. Ettwein made his rounds through the Hospital, and wished the sufferers God's blessing on the opening of the New Year.

January 3.—During the forenoon we heard long-continued cannonading,—(which later was ascertained to have been at Princeton.)

January 8.—Dr. [John] Morgan and surgeons received orders to repair to the army in New England.

January 10.—There was a rumor to-day that it had been decided to transfer the County records to Christian's Spring.²

January 14–16.—Capt. [John] Hays' [Jr.]³ company of

¹ To participate in the movements with the army in New Jersey.

² This Moravian settlement for young men was commenced in 1747, and was the westernmost, and third in point of date, of the five settlements on the Barony of Nazareth,—sixteen hundred acres being appropriated for the purpose. In the summer of 1777, one hundred and twenty men of Colonels Bland's and White's Virginia cavalry, who were quartered there for some weeks, fed their horses on the new wheat of the recent harvest, a species of contribution to which the Moravians were more than occasionally subjected.

³ John Hays, Jr., was born in Ireland, and when two years of age immigrated with his parents to Pennsylvania. He died while on a journey to Pittsburg, November 3, 1796. His company was enlisted in the Craig settlement, in Allen Township, Northampton County, and was one

militia passed through on their return from Trenton. They were the first in this county last December to take the field. Mr. Rosbrugh,¹ a Presbyterian clergyman, stationed in the Irish Settlement,² in our vicinity, had taken a zealous part in the organization of the company, and even submitted his name among the lots to be drawn. The lot falling to him, he shouldered a private's rifle and repaired to Trenton, where he alone of the company was left dead on the field.

January 25.—Messrs. John Adams, [James] Lovell, and [Lyman] Hall, delegates to Congress, arrived here on their way to Baltimore. [They left the next day.]

January 28.—Mr. [George] Walton, delegate to Congress from Georgia, who has been appointed to meet the Indians in treaty at Easton, stopped on his way to see our town. Bro. Leinbach returned from Philadelphia, where he had with difficulty purchased one bushel of salt for \$8.

January 29.—To-day expires the term of sixty days, fixed in Lord Howe's proclamation for the submission of the Colonies.

February 6-7.—The 300 men from Ticonderoga we have quartered in the workshops and private houses generally, as the Brethren's House could only accommodate 90.

February 9.—Bro. John Bonn returned from Philadelphia with 50 bushels of salt, @ \$4. per bush., which he obtained through the mediation of Dr. Shippen.

February 10.—During the past week, we learned of threats made on the part of some militia in the vicinity of Allentown, against us and our town; that they intended to search the houses, seize all blankets, and compel our young men to march to the field with them. The soldiers and the officers at present quartered here have resolved to protect us, and will remain until the militia have passed through to camp.

of the first to take the field from that county. They were on their way home, to go into winter-quarters.

¹ See "Rosbrugh, a Tale of the Revolution; or, The Life, Labor, and Death of Rev. John Rosbrugh," by Rev. J. C. Clyde.

² There were three settlements made by the Scotch-Irish within the present limits of Northampton County. The one to which the diarist refers was commenced in 1730, near Weaversville, in Allen Township.

Joseph Dean, of the Committee of Safety, remained here on account of the threatened disturbance.

February 13.—The first four companies of the Allentown militia passed through in quiet. In Easton they entered the houses in squads of ten and twelve, and took blankets and coverlets from the beds. Mr. Dean was sent for by an Express, and compelled them to desist and return the stolen property.

February 14.—The soldiers from Ticonderoga left to-day.

February 15.—Five additional companies of militia passed through. Col. Geiger, a farmer, who had been a soldier in Germany, came in advance. Mr. Dean ordered him to lead his men through without halting. Col. Reed, who is lying sick here, stationed as guards some of the convalescents at the Sisters' and Brethren's Houses and at the Store. As a Colonel in the Continental army, Reed ranks Geiger.

February 19.—Joseph Dean and his wife left for Philadelphia.

February 23.—To-day there unexpectedly arrived a party of soldiers from Albany.

February 24.—Sixteen wagons with Continental stores, consisting of ammunition, wine and rum, arrived from Morristown.

February 26.—Additional Continental stores reached here. As the small-pox has been brought to town by the soldiers, and as forty of them have been inoculated, thirty of our children were treated likewise.

March 1.—A rumor reached here that Congress had made proposals of peace to England.

March 9.—Towards evening arrived 30 Canadian officers on their way home, who had been prisoners of war at Reading one year.

March 11.—Brig. Gen. [John] Armstrong arrived *en route* for the army.

March 14.—Dr. [Jonathan] Potts¹ with some surgeons

¹ Dr. Potts was appointed Director of the Hospitals for the Northern Department of the army in January of 1777. His letter book is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

and several wagons loaded with medicines and baggage, passed through *en route* for Albany. Dr. [James] Houston,¹ the most skilful and attentive of the surgeons in the Hospital here, pursuant to orders, set out for the army in the Jerseys.

March 24.—Early this morning, Dr. Shippen's infant son William died, and, at the request of the parents, was buried in our grave-yard.² The mother, who has been sojourning in our midst almost four months, will leave on the 29th.

March 27.—The Hospital has been transferred to Philadelphia, so our buildings were cleared, except a few soldiers, —30 left for the army.

April 3.—Fast and Prayer Day in the State. Brig. Gen. [M. A. R.] de Fermoy,³ with several American officers on their way to Albany, visited our public buildings; also one English, one Scotch, and two Waldecker officers, prisoners of war on parole, *en route* for Maryland.

April 7.—Gen. Horatio Gates and staff arrived this evening.

April 11.—Gen. Gates and staff set out for Ticonderoga, where he is to assume command. At his request Bro. Ettwein accompanied the party to Christian's Spring and Nazareth, and as far as the plains beyond Schoeneck.⁴

April 29.—Mr. [Richard] Stockton, of Princeton, who had come here to buy household utensils (his house had been plundered by royalists), returned home.

May 9.—Col. [Allen] McLane, with a troop of horse, reached here from Philadelphia, expecting to find Lady Washington, who he was to escort hence. She had, how-

¹ See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 122.

² Register of Bethlehem Congregation, No. 444, "William Arthur Lee Shippen, born September 27, 1776, in Philadelphia; died March 24, 1777, at Bethlehem."

³ Matthias Alexis Roche de Fermoy, French engineer, was commissioned, November 4, 1774, brigadier-general by Congress. He returned to France in January of 1778.

⁴ Schoeneck,—i.e., *Pretty Corner*,—half a mile north of Nazareth, on the road to the Minisinks, over which General Gates was travelling.

ever, struck off on the Durham road, and thus missed Bethlehem.

May 12.—Bro. Ettwein called on [Robert Lettis] Hooper [Jr.], general quartermaster for this county, from whom he learned that Bethlehem was designed to be made one of the principal points at which the Continental army was to be massed, should it be repulsed by the English.

May 13.—Col. [Abraham] Labar¹ and Jacob Shoemaker,² two of the Commissioners, came from Easton to collect blankets for the army. This county was assigned a quota of 167 blankets; they got 27 here, about one-sixth of the number wanted.

May 24.—Gen. Joseph Reed arrived to-day.

May 29.—Gen. Schuyler, with part of his staff, *en route* to Albany, stopped and requested to be shown through the public buildings. Gen. Reed accompanied the party. Col. Isaac Reed was very low to-day.

May 31.—Capt. [Thomas] Webb, the Methodist preacher, with his family of seven persons, arrived from Philadelphia. He is a prisoner on parole, with permission to reside here or within six miles of the town until exchanged. Lodgings were given them.

June 4.—An express from Easton came to demand six wagons from this town and Nazareth, for the transportation of prisoners to the army.

June 16.—Sir Patrick Houston³ and his brother, a physician from Georgia, stopped here on their way to New England.

June 20.—William Ellery, of Newport, and William Whipple, of New Hampshire, delegates to Congress, visited our town to-day, and on leaving expressed themselves delighted with it.

June 22 (Sunday).—Bro. Ettwein preached in English this morning; three members of Congress with their wives were

¹ In command of the guard of the ferry at Easton.

² He was appointed sub-lieutenant for Northampton County, March 21, 1777.

³ See Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution," Vol. I. p. 545.

present. At noon Col. Isaac Reed, of Virginia, who since December 5th last has lain sick here, set out for Philadelphia. He was conveyed in a sedan-chair, with two horses, and eighteen of our Brethren carried him down to the Lehigh. Two of them, with his physician Dr. [Alexander] Skinner¹ and Paymaster Sutton, accompany him.

June 25.—Late this evening Gen. [Thomas] Mifflin arrived. We were astonished to hear that he had left orders with Quartermaster Hooper, to station a special guard of seven men for the protection of the Continental stores, and to apprehend deserters.

July 11.—Bro. Ettwein received a letter from Gen. Gates, who is in Philadelphia, concerning a tract of land in Fincastle County, Virginia, which he wishes to sell to our Brethren in North Carolina for a settlement.

July 21.—John Duffield,² a surgeon, who has lain ill at the house of William Boehler,³ left for Philadelphia. He was the last of the sick attached to the Hospital here.

July 25.—Unexpected news reached us that the Continental Army was marching to this neighborhood, and from here and other places on the river, boats were taken to Easton, and many wagons impressed.

July 28.—Learned that the army was moving lower down the Delaware, and would not cross at Easton.

August 4.—George Kribel,⁴ a Schwenkfelder, was taken to Easton jail, because he refused to abjure the King. From this county 200 wagons went to Philadelphia, to assist in the removal of families. The militia from all sections are on the march.

August 12.—The teams which had been impressed in this neighborhood (among the number four of ours), returned from Philadelphia. We heard that about 3000 wagons had been collected there, for the removal of the women and children.

¹ Surgeon of "Light-Horse Harry Lee's" legion of cavalry. See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," pp. 50 and 127.

² See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," pp. 112 and 120.

³ This building is still standing on Market east of Main Street.

⁴ He was one of their preachers, and a man of eminent talents and virtues, and was released after being in custody but a short time.

The alarm was occasioned by the strategy of the British, who had sent their fleet to the Capes of the Delaware, in order to draw the Continental army to Philadelphia, and harass it by much marching.¹ Consequently all the wagons were returned empty and the inhabitants of the city remained undisturbed. We paid for a lot of salt, \$22 per bushel.

August 14.—Mrs. Cochran,² a sister of Gen. Schuyler, came with her family from Esopus, anxious to procure lodgings, proposing to remain several months. Such applications are frequent.

August 23.—Gens. Greene and Knox, with some officers visited our town to-day, but were summoned by an express to return to camp without delay, as the British had effected a landing in the Chesapeake.

August 24.—Bro. Beitel who had hauled Dr. Skinner's baggage and some army stores to camp, returned. We heard that Col. Isaac Reed, of the Fourth Virginia Battalion, who had lain here sick for so long a time, died, and was buried on the 21st inst. in Philadelphia.

August 26.—To-day there arrived 20 British officers, prisoners of war, on their way from Reading to Easton, who were shown through our large buildings.

August 31.—Bro. Beitel went with his wagon to Easton, to convey several British officers from thence to New York.

September 2.—Before daylight this morning an express from Reading brought the unwelcome intelligence that, pursuant to an order from the Board of War, 260 British prisoners, under a strong guard, would be conveyed hither for safe keeping. Towards evening Quartermaster Hooper, the Sheriff [John Jennings], and two of the county lieutenants arrived from Easton.

September 3.—Bro. Ettwein accompanied the officers while inspecting the buildings, with a view of selecting one for the accommodation of the prisoners. The large "Family-House"³ on "the Square" in the centre of the town was

¹ See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 121.

² See PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 243.

³ On its site is erected the Moravian publication office.

finally selected. Against this we protested, and as our objections were ineffectual, it was resolved to lay our grievances in writing before the Board of War. This was done at once and sent off by an express.

September 6.—Our express returned to-day with the following letter from Secretary Richard Peters :

WAR OFFICE, September 5, 1777.

GENTLEMEN :—

The Board have received a representation from you in behalf of the inhabitants of Bethlehem. They are extremely sorry that any inconvenience should arise from the execution of an order of theirs relative to the prisoners to be stationed at Bethlehem. But the necessity of the case requires the measure, & the good people of your town must endeavor to reconcile the matter as well as they can. If the guards or persons employed deport themselves improperly, any grievance the inhabitants complain of on this account will be immediately redressed ; & as soon as circumstances will admit, the prisoners will be removed.

RICHARD PETERS, *Secretary.*

Accordingly the "Family-House" was cleared for the prisoners, and the water works¹ house for the guard. The present inmates were thus disposed of: Schweinitz and family² moved to the Gemein Haus; Bartow's went to Oberlin's store; Capt. Webb to William Boehler's house, and old Mr. Bartow to Timothy Horsfield's.³ Quarter Master Hooper detained the prisoners at Allentown until the houses were cleared.

September 7 (Sunday).—At noon arrived 218 British prisoners, about one half Highlanders,⁴ under a guard of over 100 soldiers, and were quartered in the houses prepared for

¹ See "Historical Sketch of the Bethlehem Water-Works," Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, by Robert Rau.

² Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz, administrator of the American estates of the Moravian Church, 1770-97, and the father of Lewis D. von Schweinitz, the distinguished botanist.

³ Horsfield's house adjoined Oberlin's store, on Market Street.

⁴ Probably some of Donald McDonald's men from North Carolina.

them. A scene of confusion ensued between the Brethren's House and the Sun Tavern. Heard heavy cannonading towards the southwest.

September 13.—This evening we heard that Gen. Washington and his army had been compelled to fall back on Philadelphia.

September 14 (Sunday).—The British officers with their guard attended English preaching in the morning, and in the afternoon Capt. Webb preached to the soldiers in their yard.

September 16.—Baron de Kalb and three French officers came to visit our town. John Okely received a letter from David Rittenhouse, that on Gen. Washington's order the military stores were to be removed hither; and simultaneously with the letter there came 36 laden wagons from French Creek. We represented that Bethlehem was no fit place for storing supplies, especially as there were so many prisoners here, but all in vain. The wagons were unloaded near the tile-kilns,¹ and a guard of 40 men placed.

September 17.—At 5 P.M. arrived 38 wagons with Continental stores.

September 18.—A company of Philadelphia militia arrived from Easton, whither they had escorted prisoners, having with them eight Tories from New Jersey, chained two and two, who were put among the other prisoners. During the entire day wagons laden with military stores were arriving. The square in front of the Brethren's House was a scene of wild confusion. A number of the guards recklessly fired off their rifles in town; one of the bullets whistling past Bro. Seidel's head, who chanced to be in the garden behind the Brethren's House, and a second ploughing up the ground just before him. As Bro. Ettwein was passing up the street, he was ordered back by the guard, stationed at the prisoners' quarters. A report was current that the army is on its way hither.

September 19.—Nine army wagons arrived to-day. Those that were laden with sulphur, powder, and cartridges, were

¹ The locality of these kilns is yet pointed out on the Monocacy Creek, half a mile northwest of Bethlehem.

unloaded at the Flax Seed House,¹ and those with provisions and Rum, at the old dyer's house.² At evening we received, through Dr. [Hall] Jackson,³ the following notice from the Director General of the Continental Hospital:

MY D'R SIR:

It gives me pain to be obliged by order of Congress to send my sick & wounded Soldiers to your peaceable village—but so it is. Your large buildings must be appropriated to their use. We will want room for 2000 at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton, &c., & you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday. I send Dr. Jackson before them that you may have time to order your affairs in the best manner. These are dreadful times, consequences of unnatural wars. I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this stroke could be averted, but 'tis impossible. I beg Mr. Hasse's assistance—love and compliments to all friends from my d'r Sir,

Your affectionate

humble serv't,

W. SHIPPEN,

D. G.

Trenton, Sep. 18, 1777.

Seeing ourselves under the necessity of relieving the distress of the country, we gave orders for the vacation of the Single Brethren's House,⁴ and its inmates to be distributed in Nazareth, and the adjacent settlements of Christian's Spring and Gnadenthal.⁵

¹ In the present water-works building, built 1765–66. It was originally a combination of mills, there being works for grinding flaxseed and pressing oil, for hulling barley, spelt, and millet, for splitting peas, for stamping and rubbing hemp, for grinding oat- and buckwheat-meal and bark for the tannery. A snuff-mill was subsequently inserted.

² Still standing to the west of Luckenbach's mill, on Water Street.

³ See "American Medical Biography," p. 311.

⁴ The large stone centre building—with its double hip-roof and belvedere—of the seminary for young ladies, facing Main Street, and what the diarist calls "the Square," was the principal building used at two different times for hospital purposes during the war for independence. It was originally erected for the use of the single men of the congregation, in 1747–48.

⁵ Gnadenthal—*i.e.*, *Vale of Grace*—was located one mile west of

September 20.—The Brethren's House was vacated. Dr. [William] Brown¹ arrived and inspected the house. Late in the evening came Col. [Richard Henry] Lee and [Benjamin] Harrison, from Virginia; [Cornelius] Harnett from North Carolina; and [William] Duer, all Delegates to Congress, who had fled from Philadelphia in consequence of the success of the British arms.

September 21 (Sunday).—Our friend and protector Henry Laurens,² of South Carolina, with many other notables arrived. They attended our English service. Towards evening the sick and wounded from Bristol began to arrive, and the influx of strangers became greater, so that the Sun Tavern could not hold them. Among others arrived Gen. [William] Woodford,³ Col. Armstrong, and the young Marquis de La Fayette,⁴ with a suite of French officers. The last named gentleman had been disabled by a wound received in the Battle of the Brandywine, and has come here for medical treatment.

Nazareth. In 1837 the farm was sold to the commissioners of Northampton County, who subsequently erected the county poor-house on the site.

¹ See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 81.

² In 1760, while John Ettwein was in the South looking after the interests of his church, he became acquainted with Henry Laurens, and was a frequent guest at his house, near Charleston, South Carolina. This acquaintance ripened into a warm friendship, which death alone severed. Throughout the negotiations between the government and the Moravians regarding the Test Act, Laurens was the adviser of his friend. Henry Laurens's "Letter Book," in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contains numerous letters to Mr. Ettwein.

³ In 1775 he was appointed colonel of the Second Virginia Regiment, and in the battle of Brandywine was commanding the First Virginia Brigade when wounded.

⁴ La Fayette was first given quarters in the Sun Tavern, but his nurses, Mrs. Barbara Boeckel and her daughter Liesel, found them so inconvenient that he was removed to their house and given two rooms. The house of George Frederick Boeckel was located on the east side of Main Street, and was the first house south of the Sun Tavern at the date of this diary. On its site stands the confectionery store of A. H. Rauch & Son, No. 42 Main Street.

(To be concluded.)